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Carl attended the small public school near his childhood home followed by a few months at Browning High School. He dropped out because there was no bus service from his home to town at that time and it was hard to find a place to live in Browning. No one in his family can speak Blackfeet. He takes no interest in the more Indian social events, such as dancing, encampments, and stick games; his recreational activities center around card games and visiting with his family and neighbors along the creek during the winter. During the rest of the year he spends most of his spare time hunting. A few evenings are spent with his brother and a few friends in town, where they get a bottle and drive around in a car, stopping now and then for a few drinks. They usually end up at a friend's house where they play cards and "hang one on."

Carl, like some of the others, also seems to live in the present and think little about the future. He talks easily of the past, but with an air of detachment that puzzles me. He can relate a series of troubles and tragedies almost as if these things had happened to someone else. Is he a stoic, or is he carefully guarding his emotions from a stranger? His life conditions are extremely barren and harsh compared with mine. How can he appear so happy and satisfied with things as they are? Is it because he has neither known nor expects to know any other way? Yet he has had opportunities both on and off the reservation and in the army to meet others who live differently.

To probe into these questions, I asked about job opportunities on and off the reservation. What do the tribe and the bureau do to help people find work? "They are trying to attract industry to the reservation," he replied, "and are building programs for relocation and on-the-job training. None of these has produced much yet." His reply when asked whether or not he has considered relocation was that he had thought about it but never applied. "I don't have much trouble getting a job. Some of the fellows have gone on relocation and done all right. Others didn't like it and came home." The answers imply that he is doing well enough at seasonal work. There was no expression of dissatisfaction with his own subsistence pattern.

By my standards, eight people in two rooms is overcrowded, so I asked if there was any provision by either the tribe or the bureau to help a man if he wants to add onto or repair his home. "Yes, they have a setup for that," was the answer. "I guess we could get a loan like that if we needed it." This again seems an expression of satisfaction with the way things are. He recognizes no need for either more room or for repairs.

Carl has nothing to offer when asked about his future plans. I inferred that he would continue as he is. What culture pattern does he reflect—Indian or white? Or is his outlook a clue to a new subculture that has developed under reservation conditions? Is this a way of life related not so much to the reservation as to a more general American subcultural pattern that develops under conditions of deprivation, a way displayed here by a man who happens to be part Indian and who lives on an Indian reservation? This question will require further examination.

Robert Thompson was in town to get parts for a mower. His ranch is north of town and the prairie grass was about ready to be cut for hay. Robert appears to be about twenty-six years old, said he is married and has two children. He is ⅛

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Ranching and farming are the major economic pursuits of the people of these counties. The northern and western portions contain excellent natural grazing areas and are extensively used by both residents and outsiders for grazing of beef cattle, sheep, and horses. The eastern third of Glacier county and the greater portion of Pondera are subject to lesser amounts of rainfall than the more westerly portions but have more frost free days, and have been utilized to a greater extent for both dry and irrigation farming. Principal crops are wheat, barley, and hay.

Oil and natural gas production and refining are important industries, with the principal producing fields lying just to the east of the reservation limits. Producing wells on the reservation in both the northeast and southeast corners may be tapping these same fields. Oil is also being pumped in the northwest part of the reservation and there has been revived interest recently in exploring the potential of the western foothill strip. Oil lease money and bonus payments for leasing rights have provided a fluctuating but important prop to the local economy. There has been little manufacturing or lumbering, although the foothill strip, adjoining national forests and Glacier Park, has a lumber potential that is slowly being realized as the tribal mill in Browning increases its lumber output and new wood products industries are being attracted to the reservation.

The population, with an economic base of beef, wool, grain, and hay, also supports businesses, services, schools, churches, and government. Banking and financing institutions are available in Cut Bank, Browning, Conrad and Valier. Dependent children, and also those who are needy, aged, blind, or disabled are provided for by the county public welfare system established by state law and financed by tribal, county, state, and federal funds.

Like the other people of Glacier and Pondera counties the tribal members are citizens of the United States and of the state of Montana. They participate in national and state politics and in the county, precinct, school district, and town governments according to their places of residence. Reservation boundaries, it will be seen, create an added dimension. They overlie the county system but do not obliterate, change, or directly affect it. Democrats, Republicans, independents, and disinterested voters play their respective parts at all levels of politics.

The reservation region is served by the Montana State Public Schools system. County school districts, with one or two exceptions, cross reservation lines. The public schools that have Indian pupils receive federal support under the Federal Impact Area Act (PL 874) (U.S. Statutes LXIV, 1, 1950:1100) and the Johnson-O'Malley Act of 1934 (U.S. Statutes XLVIII, 1934:596) which in differing ways provide for payments to public schools in lieu of the taxes not received from Indian lands held in trust. Elementary schools, varying greatly in size, plant, and staff, are found in all settled and rural areas, and high schools are located at Browning, Cut Bank, Valier and Conrad.

Religious and other organizations here are similar to those found elsewhere in rural regions of the United States. Many denominations of Christian churches have followers here and each town has one or several churches. Similarly, one or several religious and secular lodges, service clubs, veterans' organizations, youth clubs, ranch, business, trade, and labor organizations are found in the communities of the area.

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> No interference with Indian religious life or expression will hereafter be tolerated . . . and it is desirable that Indians be bilingual. . . . The Indian arts are to be prized, nourished, and honored (U.S. Sec't. Interior 1934:90).

The Indians were to have a choice, and to be allowed to play some part in decisions about their future development.

The Period of Self-Government, 1935–1970

The Blackfeet Constitution and the Blackfeet Corporate Charter were accepted and approved in 1935. The population continued to grow: the report for 1935 lists the membership of the Blackfeet Tribe as 3,962, of which 561 were living outside the reservation jurisdiction (U.S. Sec't. Interior 1935:163). The economy improved slowly after the bad years of the early thirties. The stockmen, in particular, were aided by a provision for a repayment cattle pool authorized in 1934 (see U.S. Sec't. Interior 1937:212–213 for repayment in kind program, and 1944:241 for a review of the program). A man could build a herd by borrowing cattle from the pool and repaying in kind from the increase.

The Johnson-O'Malley Act (U.S. Statutes XLVIII 1934:956) passed in 1934 and amended in 1936 (U.S. Statutes XLIX 1936:1498) authorized the Secretary of the Interior to contract with a state or other political units, and with schools, colleges, and private corporations for educational and medical services, agricultural assistance, social welfare, and relief for Indians. The Annual Report for 1934 stated that the Browning schools were assuming the task of educating the Blackfeet children from that district (U.S. Sec't. Interior 1934:85).

The majority of the Blackfeet still were attempting to readapt to the immediate present, to find success in a new economic endeavor. They were pressed to close a wide cultural gap in a short period of time, and to make things more difficult, the national economy would not stand still. Ranching and farming were changing in both production and marketing practices. A writer for the *Montana Almanac* noted a trend away from subsistence farming in the 1920s as homestead holdings proved to be too small for efficient farm and ranch operations, especially with the increasing use of power machinery in subsequent years (1957:202).

The Indian's future on small subsistence farms of 80 acres, or on a ranch using a 360 to 420 acre grazing allotment, was not promising. A successful operation required the use of leased land and adequate capital. The heirship status of individual trust lands made leasing difficult, and trust restrictions inhibited the mortgaging of such lands. The day of slowly building a ranch or farm from a cow, some seed, and hard work was disappearing. Few Blackfeet were established sufficiently in the 1930s to build and maintain a remunerative enterprise.

From 1936 through 1940 general drought conditions continued in the region (U.S., Indians at Work IV, 7 1936:37, 8 1936:37–39; Toole 1959:240—for Montana from 1929 to 1939). A few men held onto their farms and ranches, but most were forced to rely on wages from occasional labor and welfare payments. One report stated that general poverty was the lot of ¾ of the Blackfeet people in 1936 (U.S., Indians at Work IV, 4, 1936:38).

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activities in Browning invite public support.[13] Children from families of both orientations attend and participate; yet very few of the parents who turn out to watch their children perform are Indian-oriented.

The P.T.A. meetings and school commencement exercises I went to were not attended by many Indian-oriented people. No Indian-oriented were seen at two P.T.A. meetings, each attended by from fifty to sixty people. In 1960, twenty-one (over a third) of an eighth grade graduating class of sixty-seven were from identifiable Indian families, yet few Indian-oriented adults were in the audience.

The high school commencement held on the evening of the same day, differed considerably in the nature of attendance. In this instance a class of thirty-three graduating seniors included twenty-five tribal members. Eight of this number (approximately a fourth) could be identified as children from Indian-oriented families. The proportion of Indian-oriented among the seniors was smaller than for the eighth grade class, but more Indian-oriented adults were at the high school commencement, making up an estimated fifth of the audience. Even so, the largest part of those in attendance were white-oriented. Even smaller Indian-oriented attendance was reported for the preceding and following graduations.

The larger Indian attendance in 1960 may have been because the valedictorian was a full-blood boy. I had seen him dancing at the Indian social dances and at the Indian Days Celebrations, and on these occasions he wore a beaded buckskin suit that he had made and decorated himself. He was one of a very few young men who wore their hair in braids. Perhaps some of the Indian-oriented came to the commencement to see an Indian-oriented boy graduate with honors.

Attendance at the annual Easter Egg Hunts and the Fishing Derbies is more indicative. While these affairs are not comparable to an Indian Days Celebration, they are community sponsored, scheduled, recurrent and locally advertised. Children participate regardless of the orientation of their families. Perhaps these events and the previously described track meet are most comparable and the differences in attendance at each most revealing. In short, Indian-oriented parents attended the track meet but did not respond in the same way to the Egg Hunt and Fishing Derbies.

I observed the Easter Egg Hunt of 1960 and arrived too late for this event in following years. As usual it was held in an open field behind the Museum of the Plains Indian on the afternoon of Easter Sunday. The weather was much the same as it was for the track meet held one month later—cold and windy. Approximately five hundred children, from Indian, white, and white-oriented families took part. Children from the Cut Bank Boarding Dormitory were brought

[13] The description of these particular events is restricted to those held in Browning because it is the largest and most heterogeneous of the reservation communities. People of both orientations, local people and residents from the other communities, come to Browning to attend events that interest them. Attendance at similar affairs in outlying communities reflects the orientation balance of the community. Children's activities at Starr School and Heart Butte, for instance, are attended by more Indian-oriented people; similar events at Babb or East Glacier are attended almost wholly by white-oriented persons. Browning differs in that it has quite large populations of people from both orientations; selective turnout here is more significant.

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numbers of full-bloods, and he noted the tendency for the latter to consider themselves to be *"the real Blackfoot Indians—the true descendants of the great warriors* and wise leaders of old and the preservers of all that is left of Blackfoot Indian culture" (Ewers 1958:328). According to the stereotype, the full-blood is conservative and the mixed-blood progressive. The surnames of the people still further label the difference—an English, French, or American name implies mixed genetic heritage, while the Indian name (in its agency recorded translation) is a badge of Indian heritage.

There are some grounds to support a popular notion of spatial separation of the two groups. Generally the lands north of Browning are thought to be mixed-blood territory and the full-bloods claim the southern part of the reservation. Recent migrations of people have upset this balance but the idea lingers on as an element in social separation. An increasing community feeling among concentrations of full-bloods at Starr School and Heart Butte, and some spatial clustering in Browning, is tending to replace the old regional division. Mixed marriages and shifting populations, however, are breaking down even these full-blood strongholds.

The full-blood-mixed-blood distinction is not equivalent to my categories of Indian and white orientations. Of the eight Indian-oriented men in my sample, only four are full-bloods, while one full-blood is categorized among the twenty white-oriented people. But the popular full-blood and mixed-blood labels gain some validity when it is noted that the Indian-oriented of the sample are all ¾ or more Indian, while the white-oriented men are, with the one exception, ⅛ or less.

Such stereotypes produce conflicts. A series of statements by informants illustrate the mechanisms of social distance that appear to be important in limiting close social interaction between people of the two orientation groups.

For example, "Full-bloods hate mixed-bloods. They are tainted with the blood of those who robbed and ruined the Indian."

An informant overheard a mixed-blood girl complain, "They [full-bloods] are to blame. In the old days when things were bad they sold their daughters to the white men. Now they hate us."

A mixed-blood man said, "Full-bloods hate the mixed-bloods and would like to run them off the reservation. They get confused when I ask them, How about that white son-in-law of yours and your grandchildren? They finally decided that those were all right."

One man observed that little social distinction is felt by the children until they reach the upper grades. Then the more Indian children develop feelings of inferiority and inadequacy and drop out of school. "Much of the school problem is social," he said, "You see a bunch of grade school kids playing, mixed white and Indian, and you stop and ask them who is white and who is Indian? They just stare at you. The question doesn't make sense. At high school things begin to show up. Mostly social. The kids begin to want to invite each other to affairs at home. They begin to notice that they haven't the kind of clothes others do. They begin to feel they can't participate and drop out."

A recent high school graduate (mixed-blood, white-oriented) could offer no explanation of full-blood problems in the schools, either scholastic or social.

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He neither knew what the "Indian" boys in his class did or thought, nor could he say what had caused others he had known in the lower grades to drop out. His father (mixed-blood, businessman and active in community service) explained this: "He doesn't go around with those fellows."

"The full-bloods are forgotten. The half-breeds up north are running things for their own benefit."—a full-blood.

"Full-bloods probably expect to be discriminated against. They realize that they are in a different class, so act that way and so are discriminated against. They tend to stay by themselves."—a mixed-blood.

"There is conflict between the full-bloods and the 'breeds.' The latter are more progressive. They try to push things the old folks don't understand. It's not a caste division, just a mistrust of methods and plans."—a full-blood.

Numerous factors are at work here—historical, economic, political and cultural. The elements of status and values that underlie these attitudes will be examined further in the following chapters. The accounts are offered here to indicate that a bicultural division is recognized by the people themselves, that the two groups have been stereotyped and labeled, and that both spatial and social separation have been attributed to these groups. One consequence has been a curtailment of social interaction between members of the two societies.

The concepts of cultural orientation cannot be confused with the stereotypes. The real division is cultural. Orientational differences however tend to produce behaviors frequently attributed to the stereotype. "Full-blood" behavior in many dimensions is the behavior of an Indian-oriented person. People who are Indian-oriented, regardless of genetic heritage or degree of acculturation toward American life, will adopt practices that others attribute to "Indians." Then too it must be remembered that orientations are not indelible labels to apply to individuals, but rather are indicative of social structure. They stand for social categories for which there are predictable behavioral expectations, norms, and underlying values. Individuals can move from one category to another by conforming to the proper set of norms and expressing the values common to that category. The degree of Indian "blood" does not "tell."

Summary

I have tried to show that the Indian-oriented and white-oriented people engage in social interaction most frequently with members of their own group. A series of public, formal and informal, social situations was reviewed, some of which were attended predominantly by Indian-oriented people, others by white. Another list of public gatherings was given in which attendance from the two groups was relatively equal. It was shown further that informal grouping at these affairs tended to be with people of like orientation. An additional tendency for limitations upon intergroup sociality was observed in informal and private entertaining and visiting, and the overt recognition of this social separation was commented upon.

The key to these attendance patterns seems to lie in the kinds of social

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183 461 are running it now. The youngest . . . isn't set up. He's working for the railroad, but there's no future in that. You work for them for forty years and all you have is a pension, and then you only work six months a year if you're lucky.
—mixed-blood rancher

I worked with a fellow about my age whose mother always complained. "My poor boy, always having to work." It made me sore. Why shouldn't he? I've always worked. I tried taking some time off work once and about went crazy.

The people [Indians] just don't understand what they're up against. They're looking for someone to take care of them.
—mixed-blood business man

No wonder the Indians are a happy-go-lucky bunch. They don't have to work. Lease money, per capita, and relief keep them going. They need to be put on their own and made to work their way out of it.

After I graduated from high school the old man talked to me and asked me what I was going to do. He said I couldn't just run around in the car, I had to do something. I've always had a job and haven't had to ask the people for anything.
—mixed-blood business employee

My parents emphasized hard work, honesty, thrift, and education. The Indians are clannish, but I'm more of a lone wolf. I'd rather take care of myself than to get help from the family.

I have fee patent title to my land so I can make my own deals without all the red tape and delay that you get at the agency.

The best days were under Stone and Campbell when everybody had a farm and was working.
—full-blood, self-employed contractor

183 871 Indians drop out of college because they haven't learned the value of an education. They can't manage their own affairs. In college it's all up to you. I have a tribal scholarship and work during vacations. I have an interest in the family ranch and help there and work for other ranchers too.
—mixed-blood college student

183 461 Many more clues appeared scattered through the interview data, and gained additional support from observation. White-oriented people prefer to be busy. They do not spend much time with the street corner groups. In fact a good indicator of orientation may be the time a person spends in such gatherings. Only the more elderly white-oriented men can stand or sit quietly and comfortably in conversation for any length of time. Most seem to have to be actively talking or listening. They jiggle their change or their keys. They look about more often and with quicker head movements than the Indians. In a comparatively short time the white-oriented person moves off down the street or into a building, off about their "business" or giving that impression, at least. The Indian-oriented on the other hand, can stand or sit quietly for an hour, two hours, or most of the day and do not feel compelled to talk all the time if nothing need be said. "Busyness" is not so important for them as it is for the white-oriented.

183 464 Often in white-oriented families both husband and wife hold steady jobs, and in some cases both are working and saving to develop a ranch or business

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for future economic independence. Compared to the Indian-oriented, the white-oriented persons are more concerned about the education and future of their children; they encourage them to go on to college, or to get other training beyond high school. They give more attention to improving their homes, and feel the need to buy and maintain furniture, appliances, equipment, and automobiles. They early encourage their children to take on responsibility for chores, to work and to plan for their future. They cannot understand how anyone could think and act otherwise, unless they are "lazy and immoral."

The values expressed in the interviews and observations are similar, in kind, to those commonly attributed to middle-class Americans. The emphasis upon and appreciation of work, self-dependence, individualism, and acquisitiveness noted in the above quotations, and the additional characteristics of concern for education and for the future, are all recognized, under one name or another, in the social science studies of American values.

In one such study, Williams, a sociologist, recognizes the difficulty of isolating a common set of values for a large, complex, and heterogeneous society (Williams 1970:450), but finds support for fourteen major "value orientations," which are "certain dominant themes [abstracted] from the many important regional, class, and other intracultural variations" (Williams 1970:452–453).

Work is mentioned both as a valued means to other ends, and as an end in itself, and is subsumed as one aspect of the "Activity and Work" orientation. Activity is stressed and, according to Williams, ". . . it is no accident that business so characteristic of the culture can also be spelled 'busy-ness.'" (Williams 1970:458–461). Self-dependence and individualism are included as constituents of an orientation called "Individual Personality": "to be a person is to be independent, responsible, and self respecting, and thereby to be worthy of concern and respect in one's own right" (Williams 1970:495). The emphasis upon acquisitiveness is included in the "Material Comfort" orientation; a condition that "is highly approved and sought after." The material comfort orientation, according to Williams, does not reveal the "specific values . . . involved," which appear to be complexly interwoven in the idea of the "American Standard of Living" with its

> undertones and overtones of meanings—from nationalistic identification, to symbols of success, competence, and power and from a token of moral excellence to something very close to a terminal goal at the level of hedonistic gratification (Williams 1970:469–470).

At this level of analysis it would appear safe to assume that the value orientations of the white-oriented sub-culture are broadly similar to the values of the general American public. They are consistent with the economic, social and cultural life of the nation. The individual ideals of success, prestige, and higher status, achievable through the expression of these valued characteristics are considered contributory to the progress of the country. These values are a part of the complex American culture, and are linked with expectations that success will follow upon their practice. The white-oriented Blackfeet have learned these expectations through experience and example.

It was suggested that Indians participate in sports and rodeos because these were related to traditional Indian activities, and because Indian success in these activities had been given recognition by white people. Skills in these events are highly regarded by the Indian-oriented, perhaps for these same reasons.

The people of this group[A] gain subsistence within the white economic system so that work skills become important. For the most part the Indians must work to get money to buy the necessities of life and the other things they want. Work is the principal means by which to acquire goods and property, and competence at work increases the chances both of finding work and making more money. In addition, work skills are valued as indices of personal achievement. Indian acquaintances identify themselves and others with some comment about what a man is, does, or has done, and past or present economic abilities are included in this appraisal. Unemployed men, talking to a white observer, usually point out past accomplishments, jobs at which they excel, or catalog the land, stock, and other possessions they own that might impress the investigator with their personal worth. Remember that John Arrowhead recalled that he had been a "champion dancer" and "a good bronc rider." He had traveled and worked in many parts of the country, he said, and told many stories of his adventures during those times. He took me on a tour of his "land" to show the house, ranch, and stock he owned. The land was his undoubtedly, but all else belonged to the leaseholder.

This suggests another reason why economic skills, like excellence at sports, are valued by the Indian-oriented. They are aware that these skills and abilities are given recognition by their white and white-oriented neighbors. Not only do these accomplishments contribute toward earning a living and a sense of personal achievement, but they also enhance the image of "the Indian" among the white men.

The Indian-oriented value work skills but have not adopted the American appreciation of work as an end in itself. Some of this is reflected in the responses to my questionnaire. None of the eight men from the sample who were classified as Indian-oriented were regularly employed. Four of these owned land and earned some lease income from that; five received some financial support from other family members, while three had been dependent on welfare to get them through the year. Neither these nor the figures given above for the white-oriented are exactly representative of their respective groups, that is, not all white-oriented people are well off, nor are all Indian-oriented poor, but a comparison of these indicators does show the generally lower economic position of the Indian-oriented. The Indian works hard and well but feels no compulsion to work beyond the time necessary to satisfy short-term needs. Several factors contribute to this attitude, such as the irregular and seasonal jobs the Indian-oriented people are accustomed to getting, the apparent lack of interest in many things the white man considers essential, and the social restrictions on accumulation of property which will be discussed under the heading of generosity. Local, state and bureau school officials met to discuss problems of Indian education during one of my visits. Several speakers claimed that the Indian children were low on motivation and high on the scale of dropouts. One official recognized the value discrepancy when he stated,

[A] [i.e., the Indian-oriented group--Analyst]

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"You won't achieve your educational goals until you teach the Indians to want what you want." The Indian-oriented value social participation, visiting, attending Pow Wows on this and other reservations, horse races, and stick games more than long and steady labor. You do not have to work endlessly if you prefer social participation to extra furniture, appliances, a lawn, and a savings account. It is difficult for persons with this attitude to win acceptance and high status within the white-oriented structure.

Wisdom, too, is valued to the degree that it contributes to the maintenance of Indian-ness. Thus knowledge of the old religion, lore, and rituals is highly regarded, even by the Indian-oriented who no longer believe in them. One informant commented, "I know I'm full-blooded and like to keep the old things alive." A woman was disappointed to hear that there would be no Sun Dance at the 1960 Indian Days Encampment:

> Indian Days aren't any good if they don't hold the Medicine Lodge. The dances don't have any meaning unless they have the Lodge. I'd take part if they had one. Even if you don't believe in it it's part of old Indian ways. You make promises to people. You have to help them, so you give things and help.

Modern knowledge is also good. But the Indian-oriented, in general, display an ambivalence in their attitudes toward education and it is difficult to isolate the many factors that inhibit Blackfeet progress in school. Among these would be the gap between home and school environments and the language problem. Children raised in homes where English is a second language do not have the reinforcing context of constant use to increase their language ability. Books and magazines, too, would not be available to be used to further develop language and reading skills. The effects of failure and fear of failure in relation to the Indians concern with self-image are also undoubtedly important. Motivation is limited by these and is not overridden by parental authority. The Indian-oriented may urge their children to attend school but, like the men the school official told about, do not order them to do so. As individuals, children have the right to make their own decisions—after they get beyond the age where the truant officer makes it for them.

The Indian-oriented leaders value the knowledge that comes from school and in general support the idea of education. The knowledge gained is valuable and necessary if the Indians are to deal successfully with the white man. Indians can combat white ways by learning from them,[18] but this goal is hard to translate into meaningful immediate objectives for the children. They accept the idea of schooling but find the subjects they study uninteresting and unrelated to any personal goals they might formulate. Many of the jobs available on the reservation do not require much schooling, so many Indian families do not provide an example of the economic returns that counsellors say follow a good education. A well-educated Indian-oriented leader expressed his thoughts on this problem as it related to college attendance:

[18] A form of antagonistic acculturation. See Devereaux and Loeb 1943:133–147.

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183 871 873 Many of our smart children have disappointed us. They didn't go ahead as they planned. Money problems was one reason, but many had no vital interest. They really didn't know what they wanted to take when they went to school. Because of this they found the courses uninteresting and discouraging.

183 186 Wisdom and knowledge, of both old and new ways, serve other ends but appear to be most highly valued when they contribute to the major goal of being Indian. Both Indian- and white-oriented people value wisdom, but the contrasting goals lead to the accenting of different realms of knowledge and the uses to which it is put.

183 571 *Generosity* is a key value of Indian-oriented persons that has survived with the least amount of reinterpretation. It is considered an important requisite to being an Indian and, as such, appears to provide the major motivation for acquiring skill and wisdom. People are expected to share with others and to help those less forutnate than themselves.

Generosity takes both private and public forms. Indian-oriented persons are hospitable and feel a responsibility to care for others that insures that the improvident, aged, disabled or sick will be provided with the minimum requirements of existence. This relatively private form of generosity is relieved somewhat by welfare and charitable sources, but often these are not enough and some people need the help of family and neighbors to make it through the winter. In some cases those on welfare may be considered to be better off than others, and their grown children turn to them for help that is seldom refused.

183 431 183 571 626 Public generosity covers the various "give-away" ceremonies mentioned in earlier chapters. This giving is largely a reciprocal gift exchange among peers. No strict accounting is kept of gifts and repayments, but the reciprocity is recognized and people joke about giving blankets to a visiting friend so they can get them back next year when they visit the other reservation. Private generosity by all and public display by a few are forms of generosity that are expected and are controlled ultimately by expressions of public opinion. Many people act generously and spontaneously because it is the right thing to do; others give more begrudgingly because of fear of social disapproval. A person who fails to provide what is expected is called "stingy," and undisputed stinginess causes a person to lose standing within the Indian-oriented group. People do not take chances that might start such talk. Thus the discussion completes the circle back to self-concern and the controlled expression of individualism. A white official told of an incident that sounded probable even though its authenticity could not be checked.

183 571 A woman asked him to order a young man out of her house. He had moved in with the family and was just hanging around, eating their food, and making no effort to help out. When the official suggested that she was the one to tell him to leave, she replied that she could not do that. But it would be all right if he would come and do it for her: "Only don't tell that I said for you to do it." Another man had returned to take up residence on the reservation after being away for several years. But the pressures for generosity and the compul-

range from approximately $1.00 per hour. The estimated family income level for the Blackfeet Reservation as of 1959 was $2,700.

The governing body for the population is a Tribal Council elected by popular vote every two years. English is spoken by all but a handful of the older people. Approximately 4,500 tribal members live on the Reservation. Their residences are located principally in the Browning area, a community of about 3,000, fanning out to smaller towns primarily north, west and south of that community.

At the time of the nutrition survey 1,237 children were enrolled in schools on the Blackfeet Reservation.

Medical care is furnished by a Public Health Service Indian Hospital located at Browning which provides both inpatient and outpatient care. There are prenatal field clinics and special health services on a regular basis throughout the Reservation. In 1961 the average daily census in the Hospital was 25, with 1,334 admissions and over 20,000 outpatient clinic visits during the year. The predominant medical problems are obstetric, infectious and accidents. Table 2 lists the leading causes of hospitalization in the fiscal years 1961-1963 and illustrates the importance of respiratory and gastrointestinal infections. All but 24 of the children born on the Reservation in 1961 were born in the Hospital. Table 3, listing the leading notifiable communicable diseases, reveals the high frequency of gastroenteritis and middle ear infections. Table 4 lists the leading causes of death for the Browning Service Unit, with diseases of the heart and of early infancy and accidents contributing over 50 percent in 1961.

With the high incidence of infectious diseases the level of nutritional health is particularly significant in view of the relationships between nutrition and infection.

In 1961 there was a total of 266 births on the Blackfeet Reservation and no maternal deaths. There were, however, 9 deaths which fall into the perinatal mortality classification, giving a prevalence of 3 percent.

Reference

1. Hospital Data - 1962. Program Analysis and Special Studies, Division of Indian Health

The most common source of agricultural credit is the Bureau of Indian Affairs, through the Agency Credit Officer. The funds are several and are earmarked for certain kinds of uses. In each case, the total amount available is relatively small. The 1960 application for a $1,000,000 agricultural production loan to the Blackfeet Indians on the Blackfeet Reservation was approved, but at the time of the study only $100,000 had been implemented. At that time, five loan applications were being processed to cover the leased $100,000. 657 652

The repayment cattle enterprise (sheep excluded) is of special interest. The program is of long standing and involves paying back to the Tribe one heifer for each ten heifers originally received, the payment to be made within a ten-year period. For each bull that is received, three heifers must be repaid during the ten-year period. The customary ratio is one bull for each twenty-five cows. The title to the "repayment cattle" belongs to the U.S. Government until repayment is made. These cattle are not carried as property on an individual's tax assessment. 652 233 657

The official agreement covering the cattle repayment program expired in 1963. There was apparently some opposition to its being continued because of its "failure to teach business."

Education

The Commission on the Rights, Liberties and Responsibilities of the American Indian, 1961, included in its report a section on "Education." This section is reproduced in the "Annual Report of Indian Education in Montana" and is especially recommended for reading to all who are associated with Indians or Indian problems. The statistics covering the elementary and secondary education of Blackfeet Indians living on the Blackfeet Indian Reservation are presented in Tables 22, 23 and 24. 657 811

TABLE 22. ELEMENTARY SCHOOL ENROLLMENT, BLACKFEET INDIAN RESERVATION, 1960-61 811 812 177

School	Total enrollment	Indian enrollment
Babb #8	None	None
Browning #9	915	758
Cut Bank #15	886	115
East Glacier #50	73	38
Little Badger #50	21	21
Total	1,895	932

TABLE 23. HIGH SCHOOL ENROLLMENT, BLACKFEET INDIAN RESERVATION, 1960-61 811 813 177

School	Total enrollment	Indian enrollment
Browning #9	231	173
Cut Bank #15	360	19
Total	591	192

TABLE 24. FUNDING OF BLACKFEET INDIAN SCHOOLS, 1960-61

Number of meals served indigent Blackfeet Indian children	93,639
Federal funds distributed to schools on the Blackfeet Reservation	$192,078
Montana reimbursements to schools for lunches	$ 24,994

Data upon the total number of Blackfeet Indians living on the Blackfeet Reservation who are attending college are not available. The number, however, is known to be quite small. "Indian Scholarships" from the State of Montana, in a limited number, are available for Indian students attending Montana state-supported schools of higher education. The number of Blackfeet Indian students who are recipients of the above scholarships totals nine.

The number of Blackfeet Indians who are enrolled in college correspondence courses or otherwise pursuing their post-high school education is also unknown, but it is believed that the number is quite small.

Observations

The Blackfeet Agency of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the Blackfeet Tribal Council have, through the years, developed many programs to assist the agricultural development of the Reservation. Their accomplishments have been great, but much yet remains to be done.

1. The agricultural economic alternatives for the Blackfeet Indian Reservation are a great deal more limited than those existing for certain other areas in the United States. The Reservation, however, does possess certain natural advantages (excellent range land and irrigation water) which give it the potential, presently not fully utilized, of being competitively highly successful in livestock production and in dry-land small grain production. In this connection, Bulletins 522, 542 and 535 of the Montana Agricultural Experiment Station are required reading for anyone seriously interested in Blackfeet Indian agriculture.

2. Relatively few Blackfeet Indians are presently interested in dry-land small grain production. It is estimated that 90 percent of the wheat and barley produced on the Reservation is raised by non-Indians.

3. The Blackfeet Indians are very interested in competitive, commercial livestock production.

4. It is well recognized by individual Blackfeet Indians, the Blackfeet Tribal Council, the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Montana State College that, under existing conditions, a herd of 150 cattle is the minimum number to form a competitive economic unit.

5. Securing adequate financing for an economic herd of cattle is a serious, limiting factor in the development of cattle ranching by the Blackfeet Indians.

6. It must be recognized that not all Blackfeet Indians presently possess the managerial capability to handle successfully a herd of 150 or more cattle. 433 233

7. There is virtually no interest in mere "existence-farming" among the Blackfeet Indians. 241

8. The percentage of Indian high school graduates who attend college or who otherwise pursue further education is very low. The attrition rate between primary and secondary school graduates is much too high. The capacity to learn among the Blackfeet Indian youth is identical to that of other segments of the United States population. 811

9. Television provides an excellent means of mass communication for those Blackfeet Indians having television sets. 209

10. Home gardens, both in Browning, Montana, and elsewhere on the Reservation, are virtually nonexistent. 241

11. The timber resources of the Blackfeet Reservation are substantial and could be much further developed. 313 137

12. The three irrigation projects on the Reservation are excellent starts, but the use of irrigation water needs much further development. 312

Recommendations

1. The education of each Blackfeet Indian youth to his full capabilities is a basic must. The education effort is substantial today, but it must be intensified, if the Blackfeet Indians are going to compete successfully in today's society. 121 199

2. Adult education programs, freely utilizing television, hold much promise and should be vigorously expanded. The advantages of home vegetable gardens, and the method of growing vegetables are but one example of such a program.

3. Continued and increased efforts to improve the cattle herd management practices, utilizing all means of communication, need to be made.

4. The potentials in timber and irrigation water on the Reservation should be further developed.

5. Agricultural credit programs with an accompanying mandatory educational and supervisory program should be expanded in order that many, but most probably not all, of the present Blackfeet Indian cattle herds can become a competitive economic unit. Somewhat different credit, educational and supervisory programs need to be developed in order that qualified and interested young Blackfeet Indian adults can obtain the financial backing required to enter the business of cattle ranching. The traditional cattle-repayment program still offers a great deal of opportunity, and considerable thought needs to be given on the part of all concerned as to how it can best be utilized under today's conditions.

APPENDIX TABLE 4a. AVERAGE NUTRIENT INTAKE PER CHILD PER DAY AT STARR BOARDING SCHOOL AND BROWNING SCHOOL, BLACKFEET RESERVATION, AS DETERMINED BY CALCULATION

	September 9-10 (weekend)	September 14-15			
	Starr Boarding School[1/]	Starr Boarding School[2/]	Average for lunch Browning School[2/]	Average for breakfast, lunch and dinner, one day	Recommended NRC Daily Dietary Allowances for ages 9-12 years[3/]
Average number fed per day	89	130			
Nutrient					
Calories	2,933	1,991	684	2,675	2,300
Protein, total, gm	124.2	66.0	23.9	89.9	57.5
Fat, gm	137.6	93.6	29.4	123.0	--
Carbohydrate, gm	305.5	227.8	82.2	310.0	--
Calcium, gm	1.62	1.14	0.38	1.52	1.1
Phosphorus, gm	2.20	1.24	0.44	1.68	--
Iron, mg	18.8	8.0	2.7	10.7	15
Vitamin A, IU	8,999	11,137	981	12,118	4,500
Thiamine, mg	1.62	1.12	0.35	1.47	1.0
Riboflavin, mg	2.84	1.93	0.63	2.56	1.4
Niacin, mg	20.2	11.9	3.5	15.4	16.0
Vitamin C, mg	112	85	16	101	80

1/ Three meals per day served on these two days. Figures are daily averages for two days of such meals.
2/ Breakfast and evening meal served at Starr Boarding School, lunch at Browning School. Figures are daily averages for two days of such meals.
3/ Average age of children: girls 10.4 years, boys 10.9 years. Sexes combined for Allowances (see reference 1, p. 83).

7: United States W-4 (no date) 1964 NFS Blackfoot NFS Piegan Montana
262 811 N46 128

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

ately known throughout Montana, devoted the rest of his very active life to founding churches and preaching a message of tolerance and interracial understanding among the whites. Not until twenty-one years later was a permanent Methodist mission founded among the Blackfeet in Montana.[24]

At Lame Bull's Treaty in 1855, Governor Stevens had talked of schools for the Blackfeet, but it was not until the fall of 1872 that the first school was opened at their Teton River agency. Then curious children flocked into the brand-new schoolhouse, sat down, looked around, and walked out. None of them attended with any regularity until some white children from the families of agency employees started school.[25] Still the number of Indian pupils remained pitifully small. Regular attendance was impossible because their parents spent most of the year hunting buffalo far from the agency. The average daily attendance during the first quarter of 1874 was twenty—four whites, six half-bloods, and ten Indian children.[26] Progress of the Indian children was painfully slow. As their teacher could not speak their language, she used pictorial charts which were first explained to the white children and the half-bloods in English. Then the bilingual half-blood children explained them to the full-bloods. A Blackfoot agent, interested in showing the effectiveness of his school's teaching methods, reported, "I held up my hat and the school as with one voice said 'hat.' So with slate, pencil, book, pen and the pictures of dog, cat, horse, cow, etc. It was a very satisfactory evidence of progress."[27]

In 1875 the agent enthusiastically reported that he had succeeded in getting the children to wash and comb their hair before entering school. The pupils were singing hymns "with great taste and correctness." Girls were receiving instruction in cutting and sewing, and they appeared to be making rapid progress in their studies. Boys, however, were very irregular in at-

[24] Stella W. Brummitt, *Brother Van.*
[25] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1873, 252.
[26] School Report, Blackfeet Agency, First Quarter 1874, Indian Office Records.
[27] John Young to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, May 1, 1878, Indian Office Records.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

Meanwhile, Roman Catholic missionaries, denied access to the reservation by the fact that it had been officially designated Methodist territory, traveled with the Blackfoot hunting bands and performed baptisms and marriages among them. In 1881, Father Prando built a small chapel on the south side of Birch Creek. The Indians could go to him, but he was forbidden to cross the river to pursue his work on the reservation. By that time some of the Piegan bands had settled on Birch Creek near this mission station and had become ardent followers of this priest. When, in the fall of 1883, a senatorial investigating committee visited the reservation, it found that head chief White Calf's principal complaint against Agent Young was his refusal to allow the Jesuits on the reservation.[14]

By 1878 top-level Indian Bureau administrators were convinced that the civilization of the Indians could be brought about more speedily through the education of their children than by any other means. On the Blackfeet Reservation in the late seventies they had little opportunity to prove their theory. The great majority of the Indian families spent too little time near the agency. When they were near by, the school was crowded. When they folded their lodges and went on a buffalo hunt, the children went with them, even though a few ran away from their families and returned to school. Of the twelve hundred Indian children of school age in 1878, only twenty boys and thirty girls attended school for more than one month, and only two children learned to read and write during the year.[15]

Both children and adults were reluctant to speak the English words they knew, fearing that they would be laughed at if they mispronounced any of them. At the same time, the Indians laughed loudly at the crude and halting efforts of the whites employed at the agency to speak Blackfoot.[16]

The investigating committee in 1883 found that the school teachers, the Misses Young, daughters of the agent, were "most

[14] *Ibid.*, 1877, 132; 1879, 91.
[15] Bischoff, *Jesuits in Old Oregon*, 90–91, 100.
[16] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1878, xxiv, 83, 288–89.
[16] *Ibid.*, 1877, 131.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

estimable and energetic young ladies, but the school is doing very little in the education of the Indian children." On ration days as many as two hundred children attended; on other days, no more than fifty. Chief White Calf also complained that this school "amounted to nothing."[17]

Following the decision in 1877 of the Northern Blackfeet, Bloods, and North Piegans to swear allegiance to The Great Mother and to receive land in Canada under the terms of Treaty No. 7, only eleven bands among all the Indians known by the general designation of Blackfeet remained as wards of the United States. It was not surprising that Agent Young observed that the Indians on his reservation were "now calling themselves by the general name Piegan" in 1878. They were members of Piegan bands. Yet the official estimate of seventy-five hundred Indians on the Montana reservation at that time was excessively high. It must have included a large number of Canadian Indians who had crossed the "medicine line" to get in on the distribution of annuities from "The Great White Father." For nearly two decades thereafter the problem of determining on which side of the line some of these Indians belonged was a perplexing one for both governments, and especially for their agents in the field. Meanwhile, many clever Indians managed to move back and forth across the line to get in on rations and payments issued by both the United States and Canada. My elderly Piegan informants told me they had no trouble getting a share of the Canadians' bounty prior to the middle eighties. The problem was complicated by the common practice of intermarriage between the several Blackfoot tribes. It was not until the middle nineties that definite reservation assignments were made for some individuals by agreement between their agents in the United States and Canada. In the meantime, the population figures for the Blackfoot tribes in both Canada and the United States were

[17] *Report of the Subcommittee of the Special Committee of the United States Senate Appointed to Visit the Indian Tribes of Northern Montana*, 48 Cong., 1 sess., *Senate Report No. 283*, 233–34. (Hereafter referred to as *Subcommittee Report*, 48 Cong., 1 sess., *Senate Report 283*.)

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

nineties. They were light, thin-spoked vehicles, poorly suited to rough usage over rock-strewn plains and deeply rutted wagon trails. They seemed always to be breaking down. So Indian women clung to the old horse travois in preference to the new-fangled four-wheeled box which they called "something that rolls."

During the late eighties and early nineties the Indian home rapidly evolved from the canvas-covered tipi to the small, round-log cabin with dirt floor and roof of pine poles covered with earth, to the hewn-log cabin, to the neat clapboard house with wood floor and shingled roof. By the late nineties the most prosperous Indian cattlemen were living in multiple-room frame houses, while poor families still occupied one-room dirt-floored cabins.

The everyday clothing of these Indians also changed during this period, particularly in men's wear. In the early eighties men had worn cloth shirts, breechclouts, and leggings. Even in 1887 the only men who wore coats and trousers were the Indian Police and some of the chiefs.[17] During the nineties most of the younger men discarded their leggings and breechclouts in favor of what the Indian Service called "citizen's dress"—coat and trousers. But many Indians found white men's shoes stiff, confining, and uncomfortable. Consequently, the moccasin survived as a common article of adult Blackfoot footgear long after these people adopted white men's body clothing.

While Washington authorities had talked glibly during the eighties of education as the primary civilizing agent for Indians, the Piegans continued to suffer from lack of school facilities. As late as 1889 their agent was trying to squeeze ten boys and twenty-two girls into a schoolroom intended for only sixteen pupils. Yet the school-age population of the reservation numbered 350. Thus, less than 10 per cent of the children could receive the advantages of schooling on their own reservation.[18] For several years some children had been sent across the Rockies

[17] Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, 293.
[18] Reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1889, 223.

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

to the Catholic school at St. Ignatius Mission. Some of them were among the forty-five children who comprised the first Blackfoot students to be sent to the famous Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania in 1889.

In the next three years opportunities for schooling increased rapidly. In September, 1890, the new Holy Family Mission School opened on Two Medicine River with accommodations for one hundred pupils. In 1892 a new government industrial school was opened at the former military post of Fort Shaw on Sun River and sixty Piegan children were enrolled. And that same year a new boarding school was opened on Willow Creek, west of present Browning. By 1894 three-quarters of the children of school age were in school.

The Indian boarding school took upon itself the difficult task of impressing upon the Indian child the superiority of the white man's values. Learning to be "civilized" meant learning a host of little things—to comb one's hair, to wear a coat, trousers, and shoes, to sit in a chair and sleep in a bed, to use a knife and fork, to tell time, and much more. In McGuffey's classic graded readers, the Indian child was exposed to the white man's strange code of ethics as he learned to read. As he progressed through the grades, he thrilled to *Robinson Crusoe* and *Swiss Family Robinson*. The Indian boy learned to milk a cow, to drive a team of horses, to build a fence, to care for livestock, and to plant, cultivate, and harvest crops. The girl learned to cook strange foods, to launder clothes, make dresses, and perform general housework according to the white housewife's standards. Both boys and girls learned to honor the American flag and to appreciate the symbolism of such great national holidays as the Fourth of July, George Washington's birthday, Christmas, and Easter. Thus, the work of civilizing Indian children required much more than constant drill in the three R's. It required painstaking indoctrination in the basic fundamentals of the white man's culture.

The task of civilizing adult men and women was much more difficult. Blackfoot agents had received very little assistance

8: Ewers E,G-4,5 (1941-1951) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6

comrades in every major theater of the war. They flew bombing missions over Germany, they helped man destroyers and battlewagons, they fought with our ground forces in North Africa and on the European continent, and they took part in amphibious operations in the Pacific. They learned many new skills and found they could perform them as well as their non-Indian buddies could.

At the same time, hundreds of other Blackfoot Indians went to work in aircraft plants and shipyards on the West Coast. Their manual skills equaled and in many cases surpassed those of their non-Indian fellow war workers.

Not only did the Blackfoot Indians contribute substantially to our war effort, but in the process some of them developed talents and skills for which there was little demand on the reservation but which helped them to make a good living elsewhere. Since the war the number of Blackfeet living away from the reservation has increased. By 1950 they numbered more than one-third of the tribal population. Among them were skilled workers in manufacturing plants and in the building trades, office workers, salesmen, teachers, and nurses. There is no logical reason why the Blackfoot Indian's selection of a life's work need be limited to a choice between raising livestock or farming.

The educational level of the Blackfoot Indians has been rising in recent years. By 1950 some 125 of them possessed college degrees. One-quarter of the Blackfeet over eighteen years of age had graduated from high school. The 497 who were still unable to read or write and the 112 who could not speak English were nearly all older people of a high degree of Indian blood who were a negligible factor in the working population.[14]

In the period of national prosperity following World War II, the average family income among the Blackfoot Indians continued to rise. By 1950 it stood at $2,639, a figure exceeded among few other Indian tribes in the United States.[15] However, this

[14] *Compilation of Material Relating to the Indians of the United States and Alaska*, U. S. House of Representatives, Serial No. 30, 1950, 736.
[15] *Ibid.*, 736.

precisely the median age of steady earners in the rural sample (41.9). Fourteen full-time workers are males, eight are females. The median age of all earners, seasonal and permanent, is somewhat lower (34.5) than for steady earners alone. The youngest earners are generally the seasonal earners.

Six steady earners received job training from the military, BIA, colleges or special schools. Of these six, five are engaged in occupations for which their training prepared them. The median income of steady earners is $4,750, for seasonal earners the median is $700, and for the sample of all earners the median is $2,785. The median years of educational and vocational training (public schools, special training, college attendance, etc.) for steady earners is eleven years, while the median for seasonal earners is 8.5 years. Education is not a particularly important factor in determining full employment as the following 2 x 2 contingency table (Table 24) demonstrates. I use eleven years of training and education to determine the distribution above and below the median.

The tested relationship is not significant. A further test demonstrates the over-riding influence of length of employment on income amount, as Table 25 indicates. Furthermore, length of employment and racial composition are significantly associated, as Table 26 shows. And finally, I test for racial composition and amount of earned income (Table 27). Here the relationship is once again a strong one, although not quite as strong as in the previous table.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 144]

13: Robbins E-4,5 (1967-1970) 1972 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

871
874
464
128

Table 24

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN FULL EMPLOYMENT, TRAINING, AND EDUCATION, 35 BROWNING EARNERS, 1967, 1968, AND 1970

	11 or More Years of Schooling	Less than 11 Years of Schooling	
Full Employment	11	11	22
Less than Full Employment	4	9	13
	15	20	35

$r_c = .037$; $x^2 = 1.98$, P .20

178 cannot qualify for jobs, hence seasonal or employment results. It goes
563 on and on with each generation. Meanwhile, Whites and mixed-bloods are
464 entrenched in positions where they can assist their kin in obtaining the
182 few opportunities that are available. The majority of full bloods, therefore, continue to form an economic sub-stratum. That discrimination in hiring full bloods exists is unquestionable. But this does not always take the form of racial bigotry per se. It is more the result of meager economic opportunities for everyone and a form of competition which favors the abilities of Whites and mixed-bloods. It is these few Whites and mixed-bloods (and a very few full bloods) who climb up to a lower middle-class position on the reservation. The remainder are caught in an underclass position.

597 I have shown that economic factors strongly influence household
511 composition, as is the case in the rural sample. I have shown that in
182 Browning inter-household mutual economic assistance is rather commonplace among low-income related families, as was also found in the rural districts.

434 Length of employment is a strong determiner of amount of earned
464 income; racial composition is strongly associated with length of employ-
563 ment and income amount; and finally, educational and vocational training
● 811 are least though somewhat associated with full employment. The adult
182 male or female who works twelve months of the year, has eleven or more years of educational or vocational training and who is one-half or less Indian is most likely to be relatively successful in earning more than $2,800 per annum according to my findings.

641 boundaries, it will be seen, create an added dimension. They overlie the county system but do not obliterate, change, or directly affect
665 it. Democrats, Republicans, Independents and disinterested voters play their respective parts at all levels of politics.

Education

871 The reservation region is served by the Montana State Public Schools system. County school districts, with one or two exceptions, cross reservation lines. The public schools that have Indian pupils receive Federal support under the Federal Impact Area Act (PL874).[38]
872 Elementary schools, varying greatly in size, plant and staff, are found
873 in all settled and rural areas, and high schools are located at Browning,
368 Cut Bank, Valier and Conrad.

Religious and Other Organizations

794 Religious and other organizations here are similar to those found elsewhere in rural regions of the United States and need little discussion. Many denominations of Christian churches have followers
575 here, and each town has one or several churches. Similarly, one or several religious and secular lodges, service clubs, veterans' organizations, youth clubs, ranch, business, trade and labor organizations are found in the communities of the area. The particular organizations active on the reservation will be discussed later.

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[38] U.S., Statutes at Large, 1950, LXIV, Part 1, p. 1100.

14: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1960) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

[177] [791] [871] been intermittantly active among the Piegan for several decades, but Father Imoda had discounted their success at conversion prior to 1870.[108] In 1890 the Holy Family Mission school was opened in the Two Medicine valley,[109] and in the following years Christianity gradually gained predominance over the Blackfeet religion. In the meantime, Agents, missionaries and teachers actively combatted any expression of many elements of Indian culture.

> Sun dances, Indian mourning, Indian medicine, beating of the tom-tom, gambling, wearing of Indian costumes . . . selling, trading, exchanging or giving away anything issued to them have been prohibited, while other less pernicious practices such as horse-racing, face-painting, etc., are discouraged.[110]

[191] In addition, the children were forbidden to speak the Blackfeet language in the schools.[111] Several informants, who attended either Agency or Mission schools during the first decades of the twentieth century, recall being punished for "speaking Indian" in the schools or dormitories.

The suppression of elements of culture that the white men thought were inconsistent with civilization did not eliminate the practices, but did hamper and limit their expression and transmission. The readaptation process was slow, but the Agents usually found some grounds for optimism.

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[108] Lt. James H. Bradley, "St. Peter's Mission," Contributions to the Historical Society of Montana, Vol. IX (Helena, Montana: State Publishing Company, 1923), p. 316.

[109] Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, op. cit., 1890, p. 115.

[110] Ibid., 1894, p. 159.

[111] Ibid., 1893, p. 174.

14: McFee E-4,5 (1959-1960) 1971 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

[1884-1960]

The Johnson-O'Malley Act[140] passed in 1934 and amended in 1936[141] authorized the Secretary of the Interior to contract with a state or other political units, and with schools, colleges, and private corporations for educational and medical services, agricultural assistance, social welfare and relief for Indians. The Annual Report for 1934 stated that the Browning schools were assuming the task of educating the Blackfeet children from that district.[142]

The majority of the Blackfeet still were attempting to make readaptation to the immediate present, to find success in a new economic endeavor. They were pressed to close a wide cultural gap in a short period of time, and to make things more difficult, the national economy would not stand still. Ranching and farming were changing in both production and marketing practices. One summary statement in 1957 recognized the course of this change.

> The trend toward larger farm and ranch units in Montana has existed since 1920. Original acreages under the homestead laws proved too small for profitable farming and gradually the more successful operators acquired additional land. The advent of power machinery about 1925 greatly accelerated this trend.[143]

The Indian's future on small subsistence farms of 80 acres, or on a ranch using a 360 to 420 acre grazing allotment, was not promising. A successful operation required the use of leased land and adequate capital. The heirship status of individual trust lands made leasing

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[140] U.S., Statutes at Large, 1934, XLVIII, p. 596.

[141] Ibid., 1936, XLIX, p. 1498.

[142] Annual Report of the Secretary of the Interior, op. cit., 1934, p. 85.

[143] The Montana Almanac, op. cit., p. 202.

TABLE 1

SELECTED DATA FROM THE SOCIOCULTURAL FIELD SCHEDULE

Case No.	Age	Degree Indian			Marital Status	Children	Education	FFA 4-H Equiv.	Military Service	Travel	Type of Work
		Self	Father	Mother							
2	28	9/16	5/8	1/2	S		12	X	X	Occ.	family ranch
3	26	5/8	5/8	5/8	M	4	8				seasonal labor
5	20	7/16	3/8	1/2	S		12	X		Little	regular labor
6	32	1/16	Wh.	1/8	Div.	2	10		X	Occ.	seasonal labor
7	25	1/16	Wh.	1/8	S		14+	X		Occ.	ranch, seas. lab.
9	29	4/4	4/4	4/4	M	4	9	X		Occ.	irreg. wage labor
10	44	4/4	4/4	4/4	M	8	8		X		irreg. wage labor
11	30	5/8	1/2	3/4	M	5	10	X	X		seasonal labor
13	52	1/4	Wh.	1/2	M	5	8		X	Occ.	irreg. wage labor
14	25	4/4	4/4	4/4	M	1	7	X			irreg. wage labor
17	34	1/2-	1/2	7/16	M	9	6	X	X		regular labor
18	43	15/16	4/4	7/8	Div.	1	9	X	X	Some	irreg. wage labor
19	43	1/4	Wh.	1/2	M	2	15	X	X	Cons.	promoter
21	41	1/16	1/8	Wh.	M	7	8	X	X	Occ.	ranching
25	74	3/8	1/4	1/2	M	7	4			Occ.	ranching
26	23	7/8	4/4	3/4	S		10	X		Occ.	irreg. wage labor
27	40	3/4	1/2	4/4	M	4	8				irreg. wage labor
28	22	35/64	5/8	15/32	M	2	10	X		Occ.	irreg. wage labor
29	52	1/2	1/2	1/2	S		6			Occ.	irreg. wage labor
30	44	1/8	Wh.	1/4	M	2	12		X	Cons.	promoter
31	24	5/16	1/8	1/2	M	1	9+	X		Occ.	ranching
32	38	3/4	1/2	4/4	M	7	6				disab. pension
34	24	1/2	1/2	1/2	M	1	12	X		Little	irreg. clerical
35	57	1/4	1/2	Wh.	M	4	4			Cons.	rancher
37	23	13/16	3/4	7/8	S		7			Occ.	irreg. wage labor
38	59	4/4	4/4	4/4	M	7	10			Cons.	trade
39	21	4/4	4/4	4/4	M	2	9	X			irreg. wage labor
42	64	1/2	Wh.	4/4	M	6	8			Occ.	regular labor
45	39	1/4	1/2	Wh.	M	4	6			Occ.	trade, ranching
46	45	1/4	1/4	1/4	S		10		X	Cons.	regular labor
47	62	4/4	4/4	4/4	Sep.	3	8		X	Ext.	irreg. wage labor

[871] [525] [704] [884] [616] 184 177 121 106

Explanation of the Data Selected

106 121 177 184 [871] [127] [575] Education is given in years of attendance. This is little more than an index of exposure to white education, as individual differences in receptivity, attendance, achievement, motivation, learning, and differences among schools attended, are not revealed by such an index. Some additional information was obtained from school records and will be used where applicable.

F.F.A., 4-H, or Equivalent records participation in youth organizations as an index of exposure to another area of training in the values and techniques of the dominant culture.

[484] [701] Military Service and Travel are considered to be indicative of a wider contact and experience with other than reservation people, and of increased exposure to elements of white culture.

[464] Type of Work reflects, among other things, a state of training and experience posed against the available employment on the reservation, and it is some measure of economic achievement. A man categorized as working at "irreg. wage labor" is one who works sporadically during the periods when work is available. Other men, who are generally steadily employed during the work season are classified "seasonal labor." One man is rated as "reg. farm labor," because he lived with his employer and worked throughout the year at whatever required doing. Other categorizations are relatively clear, with the exception of "promoter," which is used to cover a multiple source of income. The men so labeled may have income from investments, elective office, land promotion projects, oil speculation or several other sources.

[434] Average Income records the subjects' estimate of their annual earning capacity and is but a rough index of subsistence. The figure

177 Just run around in the car, I had to do something. I've always had a job and haven't had to ask the people for anything.
184 (mixed-blood business employee)

183 My parents emphasized hard work, honesty, thrift, and education.
829 The Indians are clannish, but I'm more of a lone wolf. I'd
461 rather take care of myself than to get help from the family.
I have fee patent title to my land so I can make my own deals without all the red tape and delay that you get at the Agency.
The best days were under Stone and Campbell when everybody had a farm and were working. (8-38)

Indians drop out of college because they haven't learned the value of an education. They can't manage their own affairs. In college its all up to you. I have a tribal scholarship and work during vacations. I have an interest in the family ranch and help there and work for other ranchers too. (8-7)

184 Many more clues appear scattered through the interview data,
177 and gained additional support from observation. White-oriented people
183 prefer to be busy. They do not spend much time with the street corner
[461] groups. Often both husband and wife hold steady jobs and in some cases, both are working and saving to develop a ranch or business for future
[871] economic independence. White-oriented persons are more concerned about the education and future of their children; they encourage them to go
[511] on to college, or to get other training beyond high school. They give more attention to improving their homes, and feel the need to acquire and better maintain furniture, appliances, equipment, and automobiles. They early encourage their children to take some responsibility, to work, and to plan for their future.

177 The values expressed in the interviews and observations are
183 similar, in kind, to those commonly attributed to middle class Americans.
171 The emphasis upon, and appreciation of work, self-dependence, individualism, and acquisitiveness noted in the above quotations, and the additional characteristics of concern for education and for the future,

177 does long and steady labor. It is difficult for persons with this
184 attitude to win acceptance and high status within the white-oriented
183 structure.

[461] Wisdom, too, is valued to the degree that it contributes to
[186] the maintenance of Indian-ness. Thus knowledge of the old religion, lore and rituals is highly regarded, even by the Indian-oriented who no longer believe in them. One informant commented, "I know I'm
[796] full-blooded and like to keep the old things alive." A woman was
[829] disappointed to hear that there would be no Sun Dance at the 1960 Indian Days Encampment.

> Indian Days aren't any good if they don't hold the Medicine Lodge. The dances don't have any meaning unless they have the Lodge. I'd take part if they had one. Even if you don't believe in it it's part of old Indian ways. You make promises to people. You have to help them, so you give things and help.

177 Modern knowledge is also good. The Indian-oriented, in general,
184 display an ambivalence in their attitudes toward education and it is
871 difficult to isolate the many factors that inhibit Blackfeet progress in white schools. Among these, the gap between home and school environments, the language problem, the effects of failure and fear of failure, and the lack of clear cut personal objectives are undoubtedly important. Motivation is limited by these and is not overridden by parental authority. The Indian-oriented may urge their children to attend school, but do not order them to do so.

The Indian-oriented leaders value the knowledge that comes from school and in general support the idea of education. The knowledge gained is valuable and necessary if the Indians are to deal successfully with the white man. Indians can combat white ways by learning from

177 them,[185] but this goal is hard to translate into meaningful immediate
184 objectives for the children. They accept the idea of schooling but
871 find the subjects they study uninteresting and unrelated to any personal goals they might formulate. A well-educated Indian-oriented leader expressed his thoughts on this problem as it relates to college attendance:

> Many of our smart children have disappointed us. They didn't go ahead as they planned. Money problems was one reason, but many had no vital interest. They really didn't know what they wanted to take when they went to school. Because of this they found the courses uninteresting and discouraging.

177 Wisdom and knowledge, of both old and new ways, serve other
184 ends, but appear to be most highly valued when they contribute to the
183 major goal of being Indian. Both Indian and white-oriented people
[186] value wisdom, but the contrasting goals lead to the accenting of different realms of knowledge and the uses to which it is put.

177 Generosity is a key value of Indian-oriented persons that has
184 survived with the least amount of reinterpretation. It is considered
183 an important requisite to being an Indian and, as such, appears to
571 provide the major motivation for acquiring skill and wisdom. People
[186] are expected to share with others and to help those less fortunate than themselves.

Generosity takes both private and public forms. Indian-oriented persons are hospitable and feel a responsibility to care for others that

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[185] A form of "Antagonistic Acculturation." See George Devereux and Edwin M. Loeb, "Antagonistic Acculturation," American Sociological Review, Vol. VIII, 1943, pp. 133-147. This acceptance is related to their Type III: "The adoption of new means without a corresponding adoption of the relevant goals . . . in order to support existing goals, sometimes even for the specific purpose of resisting the compulsory adoption of the goals of the lending group" (p. 140).

177 that plan and stage the Indian Days celebration and holiday dances,
184 and attempt to live up to the highest values of the group. Their
565 families are supporting them in this move. The brother of one such
554 man spoke of him proudly:
555

> My brother quit drinking twenty years ago and learned Indian singing. He won a singing contest and now he's a champion singer. He's the boss.

[626] Others support the similar ambitions of one of their relatives; they say that this man "isn't so much of a singer" and that he really "doesn't know much" about Blackfeet ways. His ambitions are being challenged as a part of the validation process he must go through.

Several younger men appear to be grooming for the more acculturated high status positions. They are already learning Blackfeet traditions from their elders, and at the same time are applying themselves to their education. The valedictorian of the high school class of 1960 appears to be a likely candidate for a position as an Interpreter. He is continuing his education and gaining experience in American society; he is fluent in both languages, and he has been a good student of Blackfeet culture. His Indian-oriented accomplishments and success in school already have gained him the respect of the Indian-oriented, and his school accomplishments, in turn, have earned him the respect of many in the white and white-oriented community.

[191]

[871]

177 Much of the description of modern Indian-oriented life is based
184 upon participant observation among people of this middle status, and
565 familiarity with this group sheds light on a question raised earlier
554 about the Indian attitude toward material comfort and possessions. It
353 was mentioned that the Indian-oriented appeared to have fewer possessions,
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[123]

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
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incentive to participation would be absent. Accordingly, Crowfoot was urged to help to abolish the torture ceremony, though death spared him the embarrassment. In 1890 Indian Agent Magnus Begg took matters into his own hands. He rode up to the Sun Dance lodge at the height of the activities, and, fortified by the sanctions of the Church of England in the person of the Reverend J. Tims, asked the chiefs to stop this part of the ceremony. To the amazement of these two men, the request was complied with immediately.

Capitalizing on the Blackfoot's deep-lying interest in the supernatural, the clergy was constantly proselytizing. Unlike their Protestant brethren, the Roman Catholics did not stress the dichotomy of Christianity and Indian beliefs. Rather they permitted these ignorant children of God to follow their own ways, subtly fostering at the same time a greater dependence on the Church and sending their souls onward, purified by the baptismal rites. The unbending Protestant, however, insisted that a man could not worship fetishes and the omnipotent Christian God at the same time; moreover, the Indians were also expected to part with their extra wives before entering the church. Such abnegation required greater conviction than most Indians had. Few Indians could face the tribal rejection that occurred when a wife was sent away for this reason and sacred bundles destroyed. Converts were for the most part unsteadfast, for as soon as crops failed and horses died, thereby proving the impotence of the white religion, they returned to their old forms of supernatural protection.

The great tension between the Roman Catholic Church and the Indians arose over schools rather than doctrinal affairs. In 1884, seven years after treaty, Father Lacombe had completed the construction of St. Joseph Industrial School at High River near Calgary, and was searching the camps for children untouched by Indian "prejudice," whose minds would be receptive to Christianity. A few parents were induced to part with their children, but a few days later, lonely in their tipis, yearning for the departed child, and preyed upon by gossip about heartless whippings, many an anxious parent went to the school to reclaim his child. The first years tried Father Lacombe's patience severely. Not only were his lambs seized from the fold, but they were a wild lot at best. They gulped the proffered food, refused to go to bed at night, "laughed and sang, and with the Indians' power of ridicule made light of the odd furniture."[1] Father Lacombe,

[1]Hughes, *op. cit.*, p. 289.

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
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angry at the Indians' reception of his work, pleaded with the governmental authorities for suspension of rations of those families that resisted him. He recommended severe treatment for runaways, even to the extent of seeking police assistance in returning them to the schools.

Whether these recommendations fell on deaf ears or whether Father Lacombe recovered from his spleen to find a new solution to his problem, we do not know, but a Roman Catholic school was built on the Blackfoot reserve in 1887. It was hoped that Father Doucet would get better co-operation by bringing the school nearer to the Indians and by having a day-school so that the children could return to their parents every evening. Perhaps a cue was taken from Reverend Mr. Tims who during the previous year had set his mission school on the North Camp flat near the hut of the venerable Old Sun. In his school sixty-five children were enrolled, though only sixteen came with any degree of regularity. Because of antipathy to white ways it was many years before the parents would allow their children to attend even the day-schools freely.

Cattle Days

By the time of Crowfoot's death in 1889 most of the Blackfoot had been induced to plant little patches of oats and potatoes. The 311 acres under cultivation in 1892 were supposedly supplying food for 1,458 Blackfoot. Yet the Indian habits were peculiarly tenacious. These people did not live from their gardens, as Governor Laird had hoped nearly fifteen years earlier; rather they lived on rations and sold the crops. At best the oats and potatoes were good and abundant, but this best came infrequently. Though the virgin soil had first been sown with promising results, the succeeding crops were blighted by cold or heat, flood or drought. On the year of the largest planting, oats failed completely, and potatoes were a severe disappointment. Indeed, even the industrious white who had brought a tradition of gardening to a semi-arid region fared similarly up and down the Great Plains. The Indians, though dependent on these crops for trading at the store, evaded where possible the drudgery of the work, and followed the cycle of ploughing, seeding, cultivating, and harvesting with little enthusiasm. Their gardens were not a success. Moreover, the Indians were for the most part poorly nourished and badly clad. Disease had already reduced their number by more than a quarter in a single decade.

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
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621 river to live and grow rich without the help of White Pup. Old-
178 Woman-at-War left Running Rabbit to care for cattle in his own establishment. In a rage Hind Bull drove out his loyal follower Black who a few years later made a good living on the proceeds from his cattle. By 1910, when the agricultural economy began on the reserve, many a chief's follower had departed.

511 The extreme poverty of the people must be considered an important factor in these changes.[A] As compared with the Blood and Piegan, the Blackfoot were backward. The superintendent of Indian Affairs, James A. Smart, stated in 1900 that of 165 Indian shacks only 46 had shingle roofs, with 44 still no flooring but the beaten earth. Water had to be procured from the Bow River, frequently at a distance of several miles. There were many Indian ponies on the reserve, but they had little market value except for the year or two when Klondike prospectors were buying. Though wagons increased from 36 in 1898 to 148 in 1906, many people still had travois as the only means of transportation. Despite the advent of hay-cutting at the turn of the century, there were only 12 horse rakes and 17 mowers. In 1897, a year not peculiar for its difficulties, more than $25,000 worth of woollen goods was distributed by a Department of Indian Affairs not reputed for its lavishness. Even with rations provided, the Blackfoot were living at an economic standard below that of the most humble whites. At times they were even accused of begging from the whites in town and scheming to swindle the government. When Countess Minto visited the reserve in 1900, Commissioner Laird was vastly relieved that the Indians behaved respectfully and did not trouble the noble lady with complaints. Agent after agent might report in proud phrases signs of progress in neat and well-furnished shacks, but this progress was always judged with the tacitly appended statement: "in consideration of the fact that these Indians have lived only twenty years on the reserve." When a new inspector without knowledge of the past visited the reserve, he viewed affairs in a different light. A. J. Markle, the new agent of 1901, was appalled at the slovenly conditions.

871 The Indians were irritated by the effort to take the children away
[791] and teach them to be whites. The Church of England had introduced many small schools to the band villages on the theory that through education the aborigines could be shown the road to progress. Resistance, though reduced in fifteen years of contact, ran

A [i.e., changes in band structure--Analyst]

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
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high, for in 1900 less than 40 per cent of the 129 children of school age attended school. Boarding-school attendance was better, for the parents who consented to giving up their children knew at least that they were fed. This institution gradually replaced the day-school, for the children could be isolated there from the "heathenish" influence of their parents. The whole situation was incomprehensible to the Indians, especially when Markle, acting on his conviction that the only way to make an Indian self-supporting was to make him work, withdrew rations and inaugurated the work-or-starve policy. They were almost dazed by the blow. The agent claimed to look after the welfare of the Indians, therefore he was the chief. But a good chief would bankrupt himself for the welfare of his followers. Yet this agent-chief had a comfortable house while the Indians lived in shacks. He had money, while their pockets were empty. He had a horse and democrat while the Indians travelled with a travois in his dust. Certainly every Indian Agent had failed to assume the chiefly role of generosity and personal responsibility.

There were three responses to this incomprehensible behaviour. The first was apathy, and as some described it, "Some people just died, like of a broken heart." Others sought crooked or degrading ways of obtaining needed articles, like stealing, or begging; while many Indians sought to remain apart from the whites. Free cattle were often refused, not because their economic value was questioned but because accepting them implied an obligation to the agent. Every Blackfoot knows that a gift is given with great display of generosity, but it always carries with it an expectation of future return. Big Snake, a hard-working man, would have nothing to do with cattle because of being obligated. Eagle Ribs, too, spurned the beasts because the brand of the Indian Department showed that they were not his own cattle and implied reciprocity. Three Suns refused agency-given cattle, bought his own instead, and lived as remote from the white influence as possible.

Through these years of cattle-raising life went on with many irritations. Some who accepted white direction prospered; most eked out a living driven by necessity rather than respect for the white man's ways. Times were hard (though perhaps no harder than in buffalo days) yet they retained few of the former rewards. One informant said that the only happy times were at the Tobacco Dance and at the Sun Dance, where spiritual exaltation and conviviality supplanted briefly the drudgery of earning a living.

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
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of the herds and consequently the returns from cattle have stood consistently lower. Only in terms of the number of horses do the Bloods exceed the Blackfoot, and it is likely that these are in quality more like the Blackfoot range horses than their sturdier work animals. We infer that the resources of the Blackfoot are no greater than those of the Blood but that the trust fund has enabled the Blackfoot to develop what they have.

In many kinds of property the Blackfoot also exceed the Bloods. Despite a larger population, the Bloods have only 95 houses on the reserve as compared with 166 on the Blackfoot reserve. In actual numbers, the Bloods own more tools, wagons, and implements than the Blackfoot, but on a per capita basis the Blackfoot exceed. Judging by personal observation, we would say that the Blackfoot houses have on the average more furniture and that their clothing is of a better quality than the Bloods.

In other respects the Blackfoot are at least the equal of other reserves. All Indian education comes through mission schools or day-schools, and though its adequacy may be questioned, it seems to be fairly uniform from reserve to reserve within a province. In health the Blackfoot are also as well off. The trust fund supports a first-class hospital, whereas medical care is available to most other reserves through missions. Drinking, gambling, and prostitution are at a minimum on the Blackfoot reserve, and we judge this to be true of other reserves as well because of the uniform policing system of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police.

From the point of view of the administrator the needs of the Blackfoot reserve are satisfied equally well, if not better, than on most other reserves. They are one of the wealthiest groups of Indians in Canada, and little could be gained for them in Ottawa by appealing for more on the basis of these recognized needs.

Indian needs as expressed by the Blackfoot. What are the needs of the Indians as expressed by themselves, and how well are they satisfied by the economy? We may distinguish two types of Indians on the basis of needs: (*a*) Those whose needs concern mainly the satisfaction of the demands of food, good shelter, respectable clothing, and transportation; (*b*) those who, despite having these needs fairly well satisfied, still strive for things over and above these. Let us consider the two types, bearing in mind that they are arbitrary and for illustrative purposes only.[1]

[1] Cf. pp. 80-82.

16: Hanks & Hanks E,P-4,5 (1938-1941) 1950
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Because so few Blackfoot speak and write English adequately, this letter is similar to many received by the agent. This impression of immaturity is furthered by the constant appeal for funds from a given account in the agency, and the common practice of working only when in need of cash.

Consider also meetings of the councils of chiefs. The chiefs enter the room feet clad in moccasins, wearing somewhat shabby suits or brightly coloured cowboy shirts, their heads often covered with red bandanas on top of which sit broad-brimmed, dusty hats. Some sit on chairs, others find greater comfort sitting tailor fashion on the floor. Most chiefs must communicate through an interpreter, and those who speak English often use broken English with phrasing comical to the white ear. In view of the white tendency to consider seriously only words addressed by persons who dress correctly, speak in proper ways, and know approved decorum, the agency cannot consider the chiefs equal partners in the direction of reserve affairs.

Like other agencies, the Blackfoot agency's policies are determined in part by the expectations of the Indian Affairs Branch at Ottawa. A good reserve is one where production is aimed at maintaining or achieving a level considered adequate for the people. There should be a low index of crime, divorce, disease and, if possible, few complaints by Indians or their white neighbours. To the extent possible there should be a decreasing rate of expenditure out of public funds and an increasing rate of school attendance. In these respects the Blackfoot agency stands well. Through competent agency management production has been maintained fairly well in certain respects and increased in others. We have no indices to compare crime, divorce, and complaint rates from this agency with other agencies, but judging by the tendency for Indians to remain on the reserve, complaints at least should be low from the Blackfoot area. It is probable that the mild encouragement given to Blackfoot religious ceremonials is considered a step towards maintaining native moral sanctions. Certainly the Blackfoot hospital offers a health service that surpasses that of many communities in the vicinity. Thanks to the trust fund, public money expended for the reserve has reached a minimum, and nearly every child goes to school.

With respect to the Indians three administrative principles appear to be operative. First is the principle of preventing the Indians from having too great benefits from the trust fund at any one time, lest they become demoralized. On this ground many

When my grandma was about a year or two old, Heavy Head became one of the last Bloods to go through the ancient ritual of self-torture. He had gone to raid horses from an enemy tribe and gotten into a tough situation. In order to get help and courage, he made a vow to go through this ritual at the next Sun Dance ceremony, which is the main tribal event in our traditional life. In front of all the people, his chest was pierced in two places so that willow skewers could be inserted. To these were tied two long ropes, which hung down from the symbolic Center Pole in the sacred Sun Dance lodge. Heavy Head had to pull these ropes tight and dance until the skewers broke through his flesh and released him. The ceremony may sound cruel today, but my ancestors had a lot of faith and meaning for it in their nature-oriented life. A couple of years later the ceremony was forbidden by the government.

Heavy Head suffered from his Sun Dance wounds for some time. He went out into the hills so that he could cry and suffer alone, and out there he was given certain mystical powers to cure ailments with prayers, songs, and herbs. As he grew older he became the keeper of various tribal medicine bundles and a member of ancient societies. Among the Bloods a man does all these things in company with his wife—his main one, if he should have two or more—so my great-grandma, First-to-Kill, began to learn the songs and ceremonies of our sacred ways. Her life changed from helping one husband feed and house wagon-road travelers to helping another husband doctor the sick people and lead their religious ceremonies when they were well.

Grandma AnadaAki grew up hearing these old songs and watching the ceremonies. But her mother knew that the modern ways were coming to stay, so she made sure that her children got themselves educated. Grandma was sent to a special girls' school run by a British matron named Miss Wells. Unlike the missionary and boarding schools that were

20: Hungry Wolf I-4,5 (no date) 1980
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

871 177 satisfied if their students learned a bit of the three *R*s and a bit of farming, Miss Wells wanted her young students to learn how to become ladies in the proper British style of the day. She taught them fancy ways of cooking, dressing, and wearing their hair. She got them into habits like dainty tea drinking, careful table setting, and wearing brooches to close up the fronts of their blouses. She taught them not only about agriculture but also about flower gardens and surrounding their homes with rows of bushes. They even picked up her 177 British accent. These students became known as "Miss Wells's girls," and practically all of them became successful wives in charge of progressive farm households among the Blood people. Even in her old age my grandma likes nothing better than a brooch for a present, or tea and cookies for a snack.

THE OLDEST GRANDMOTHER AMONG MY PEOPLE

165 I have often heard that in the past there were more old people than today, and that it was more common for some to live past one hundred. I know that the child mortality rate was really high back then, and that men stood a good chance to get killed in war before they reached adulthood. But I suppose the natural foods that they ate and the rugged lifestyle they followed would have encouraged old age for those who survived the childhood ailments and the dangers of the 805 war trail. However, my ancestors never kept very accurate records of their ages, and even today there are still a few old people who cannot say exactly how old they are.

829 One such old person is Rosie Davis, a lifelong friend of my grandmother, AnadaAki. My grandmother, in her early nineties, said that Rosie was quite a bit older than she, so she must have surpassed one hundred. But Rosie's own comment on her age was: "I don't know how old I am, because

829 nobody ever told me the exact year of my birth. People usually say that I am one hundred and they are probably right. I know that I was still a little girl when the 1877 treaty was signed, even though I don't recall any incidents about it.

115 "I was born in Fort Benton, which was an important Montana trading post at that time. My mother was married to a white man named Smith, who worked on a Missouri River steamboat out of Fort Benton. We lived there when I was young, and we waited for my father to come and see us between trips. When they were getting ready to make out the band rolls for the treaty signing we came back up here. The treaty was between the different tribes of Canadian Indians and the Queen of England. My mother's father was old Iron Pipe, and he came down with some people to bring us back home. He told my father that he would try to send us back down to Fort Benton somehow.

"It took us a while to get back home, and there were a number of delays before the treaty finally got settled. By then my grandfather could not find anyone to accompany us back down to Fort Benton. It was very dangerous to be out in that country alone because of the many war parties. So my mother never saw my real father again. She became married to Flying Chief, who was better known as Joe Healy. He raised me as if I were his own daughter.

721 "Joe Healy became an orphan when he was just a small boy. His parents were camped in a tipi outside of Fort Whoop-Up, near the present city of Lethbridge, Alberta. During the night some enemy people from the west side of the Rockies came and shot rifles into the tipi. They killed Joe's parents and his two sisters, and they wounded him in the thigh. The traders came out and found him, and buried the rest of his family. One of the traders was named Healy, and he adopted the injured boy. He got some nuns to doctor him, and later
871 he sent him to school at Fort Shaw, in Montana. He was about the first Blood to get an education. He learned English

A [i.e., Rosie Davis--Analyst]

and later became a scout and interpreter for the Northwest Mounted Police.

"I remember well the event we call the Riot Sun Dance. It happened around 1890, about the same time that old Heavy Head was one of the last to go through the Torture Dance. I was sitting inside the sacred medicine lodge, near my grandfather, Iron Pipe. He was one of the medicine men, and people would come up to him bringing filled pipes and cloth offerings that they wanted him to bless. He would pray for them and paint their faces. By that time he was quite old and feeble.

"The trouble started when the Mounties came into the medicine lodge to arrest some young men for taking scalps and horses on a war raid. By that time the treaty forbade it, and the Mounties had threatened to arrest those who broke the law. Of course, no one thought they would come into the holy lodge and try to arrest people while they were praying and celebrating, but that's what they did. All the people got scared because it looked like there might be some shooting right inside the medicine lodge. The warriors were telling their war stories, and they were all carrying guns. There was a rush for people to leave the lodge. I went over and led my grandpa from the lodge and over to his tipi. A lot of people headed home after that and the Sun Dance broke up, even though there was no more trouble and the wanted men got away."

Rosie Davis became a "Miss Wells girl" in school, like my own grandmother. As a result, she, too, speaks with a slight British accent and likes to wear brooches. Also, she is remembered as an energetic housewife and partner of a progressive and successful ranch family. She spent most of her life married to Charlie Davis, who was also the child of a Blood mother and a white father. In fact, his father was the first government representative for the Northwest Territories, and

Bloods. He owned a number of different medicine pipe bundles and he joined the Horns Society many times. He lived to be nearly a hundred years old, and he died not too many years ago.

When I was just a little girl my father purchased a painted-lodge design for me. The design was put on a new tipi for the transfer ceremony. It wasn't a big tipi, it was just a little tipi big enough for kids to play in. My mother made it for me so that I could use it with my friends. They hired an old man to conduct the ceremony so that I would be properly initiated for it. My mother sat in the tipi with me, as my partner. I was not the only little girl that was given such a tipi. There were a few others.

My sister and I were then in boarding school. That was in the days when they didn't even allow us to come home for the Sun Dance. My mother came to the school and she put up the tipi in the summertime. She put it up right by the school, and nobody bothered it. She put in a small tipi liner that had designs painted on it. She tanned some little animal furs and she put them inside my tipi for rugs. She even made little bags from rawhide and put them all around the inside, just like a regular lodge. Sometimes on her way to visit us at the school, my mother would stop at Long-Nosed Crow's [the trader R. N. Wilson's store] and buy a lot of groceries. Then she would tell me to invite all my friends to the tipi and she would serve a big meal—all kinds of food and berries. Sometimes even the nuns came over and sat in the little tipi with us.

The design on my tipi was very pretty. It was given to one of the old people from the past, in a dream. The cover was painted yellow, and it had four lines of colored circles going from top to bottom. The circles stood for stars, and there was a row of them at each of the four directions—east, west, north, and south. I don't know how many years I had that tipi, but it finally wore out and disappeared. I have never painted that

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rodeo but he will never be given the prize money."

One day a priest came to our place. He told my father, "Your son is a big boy now. He should go to school." My father told the priest, "I love my son. He is not going to school. If I put my son in school, the white men will teach him bad habits. They will teach him to drink whiskey and to steal and to cheat a person and how to gossip about people." The priest told my father, "In the future, people will all talk English and your son will be the only one that will not speak English." My father told the priest, "Our Indian life is not going to be extinct just yet. I am still standing on my Indian life, so my son will not be educated in the school." So that is why I didn't go to school.

I was a farmer. I had all the farm implements —a seeder, a plow, a binder, a cultivator, and a harrow. I didn't borrow these things because I knew the People didn't like me and wouldn't lend me anything. I bought what I needed. I had seven big wagons, two democrats [light wagons with seats], and a lot of workhorses.

Then a bad habit came to me. I started drinking. My life was lonely. I stole a lot of things. I broke into a store and I stole tobacco and forty bottles of lemon extract [a popular and cheap substitute for liquor]. I stole and sold more than five hundred horses. I stole horses from the Blackfoot Reserve, from the North Piegan Reserve, and from the Blood Indians. The horses I didn't sell I slaughtered, and sold their skins. I would slip a rope around the horse's neck, then put a half-hitch around the nose over the nostrils and finally wrap the end of the same rope around the horse's hind legs. As the horse kicked, the rope tightened around its nose, and it suffocated itself. A suffocated horse stiffens up quickly. I skinned the horse and sold the hide for money to spend on liquor.

I sold stolen cattle and wheat. Stealing wheat, that was easy. I simply backed my wagon up to

Another of Red Crow's trusted spokesmen was old White Calf, who was a minor chief and a renowned warrior. He has sometimes been referred to as the war chief of the Bloods, although war for our People in the Old Days was too much of a personal affair to have much use for an official war chief. Whoever assembled and led one or more men on a raid was considered a war chief. 622

Our Old Man told this story about White Calf as a spokesman:

The agent went around to have all the People put their kids in school. Long-Nosed Crow [Robert Wilson] was the interpreter and another government man was along. They went to see the head chief, Red Crow, who told them, "White Calf will speak for me." When White Calf showed up, the agent said, "Well, we came to ask that every family give up one child to go to school." White Calf and Red Crow discussed what should be done. Finally, White Calf said, "Yes, we will do what you ask. But now that we have satisfied you, you must do something for me." Wilson relayed this to the agent and the government man, and they agreed to return the favor. "All right," White Calf told them, "Since I am a bachelor, and our Chief Woman [Queen Victoria] is also a bachelor, I want you to make the arrangements so that she will be my mate." Wilson had begun to translate White Calf's request, but when he figured out its ending he simply shook his head and said that he couldn't translate such a disloyal request. 657 871

The first group of students was sent to St. Paul's Anglican School. For a while, the Old Man was among them. As time went on, schooling became more strictly enforced until virtually every child was placed in a boarding school to be "properly raised and educated." The training began with a haircut and a ban on speaking Blackfoot. The fragile Spirit of the Old Ways was pretty well broken in the minds of most of the reserve's 171 177

[p. 239-A]

children after they spent a few years at the school, away from their parents. Red Crow might have known that this would happen, but he couldn't prevent it. After his visit to the East, perhaps he thought that the best thing for the Blood children would be to learn the new Ways so they could deal with them. 871 177

We are fortunate to have a written record of Red Crow's adventures; it gives us a sense of the kind of man considered Powerful enough to be a leader of his People. Red Crow related these adventures to Robert Wilson during the winter of 1891. Because Wilson kept these stories in his own files, most of our own People have never read them and do not know them. 127

LIFE AND ADVENTURES OF CHIEF RED CROW (1830–1900)

Related by Red Crow to Robert N. Wilson
December, 1891

I was born at [Fort] Whoop-Up about the year 1830. My father's name was Black Bear and my mother's was Handsome Woman. My father was a great chief. I only knew two of his wives, my Mother and another. I had three half-brothers who were not my Mother's children. They all died young in the days of the smallpox. I also had two Sisters but they too are long since dead and none of their children are alive now. The Blood Chief, Far Seer, was my Uncle [Pinukwiim, or "Seen From Afar," as his name is commonly translated]. 159 [551] [164] [551]

My baby name was Captured-the-Gun Inside. This name was given to me in memory of an event in the life of my grandfather. When I first took the war trail my name was changed to Lately Tom, which I greatly disliked and did my best to repudiate. Nevertheless, I bore the name for many years until I became known as Red Crow, the former name of an old relative. [Lately Tom was probably a misinterpretation of a Blackfoot expression suggesting tomcatting. Before he went 551 553 159

[p. 239-B]

21: Hungry Wolf F-4,5 (ca. 1972) 1977
NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Blood

Meet the Old People of Today

SikskiAki and I asked a few of the Old People living on the Blood Reserve to comment on the past, present, and future of our Old Ways. Most people on the Blood Reserve have at least some respect for their traditions and for those who are still trying to follow them. Nevertheless, few know how the Old Ways really were. Most of our People today were taken from their parents and placed in boarding schools at an age when their minds were forming permanent patterns. In the schools, their contacts with the Old Ways, both spiritual and physical, were always discouraged and sometimes forcibly severed. By the time they left the schools, the children had been taught to judge life according to the standards set by white society, standards that were meaningless to their parents who lived simple, natural, spiritual lives. This forced-separation of children from their families and culture continued until just a few years ago, but it had already broken the Spirit of our Old Ways in the daily lives of our People.

OUR HEAD CHIEF, JIM SHOT-ON-BOTH-SIDES

My father had the Long-Time Medicine Pipe for many years. He taught me to treat our home like

[p.332-A]

hears my prayers whether I say them at a Night-time ceremony or at the Catholic Church or during a Full Gospel meeting. I am not shy to pray any place. That is how I live. 793 558 156 829 [782]

MARK OLD SHOES

Mark Old Shoes, or Rusty Boy, is probably the youngest and healthiest of our Old People. He is learning to lead some of the ceremonies, mainly our Nighttime ceremonies and Medicine Pipe Bundle openings. He is also head Weather Dancer on the Blood Reserve, in case there is ever another Medicine Lodge ceremony. 793 [535]

Mark's father was the famous warrior Morning Writing, who was registered on the agency rolls by his earlier name, Old Shoes. Morning Writing raised his children in the Old Way and did not allow them to go to school. When Mark was twelve years old, his father died and he was sent off to school, where they forced him to cut his braids. Since then he has always worn short hair. [551] [871] [177] [302]

Mark has been a member of the Horns Society three times, once as a bachelor and twice with his wife. The first time he joined as partner to the Owner of one of the leaders' staffs. At later times he owned the Staff-with-a-Rattle and the Headdress-with-an-Arrow-in-Front. As he looked through the photographs of past scenes he had some comments: "I find it strange how much everything has changed. For instance, in those days the Old People all allowed their pictures to be taken at the Sun Dance. Now, if anyone is seen with a camera, the Horns will sure get after him." 575 [425] 829 178 [784] [575]

Like many of our Old People, Mark has much faith in the new Horns to help keep our Old Ways alive. He has said, "I think that as long as the new Horns really believe in what they are doing, our Old Ways will keep going. Young people didn't care much about the Old Ways, lately, when it was just us Old People. But now a lot of young people are thinking about trying to join us. 829 575 [182] [178] [P. 335-B]

back down to Fort Benton. It was very dangerous to be alone out in that country, because of the enemy war parties. So my mother never saw my real father again. She then married Flying Chief, who was better known as Joe Healy. He was my stepfather. 586 587

Joe Healy had become an orphan when he was very young. His parents were camped in a tipi outside of Fort Whoop-Up, near Lethbridge. During the night, some enemy People from the west side of the mountains came and shot rifles into the tipi. They killed Joe's parents and his two sisters. He was wounded in the thigh. Two traders named Healy and Hamilton found Joe, who was still a little kid, so they buried his family and adopted him. He was doctored by some nuns, and later he was sent to school at Fort Shaw, in Montana. He was about the first boy on this reserve to go to school. He learned English and became a scout and interpreter for the Northwest Mounted Police. 736 597 [871] [191] [464]

I was at the Riot Sun Dance, the one during which Heavy Head tortured himself. I was sitting inside of the Medicine Lodge, near my grandfather, Iron Pipe, who was one of the Medicine Men. People would come up to him and bring him a filled pipe and sometimes an offering and he would pray for them. 793

As Rosie Davis grew older, she became a student of Miss Wells, an English lady who taught a number of Blood girls the ways of being housewives, British style. Her students became noted housekeepers and influential wives of men on the Blood Reserve. Even at her old age, Rosie Davis speaks very clearly, in a British accent, and uses very good grammar. 177 871

Rosie married Charlie Davis, also the child of a white father and a Blood mother. His father was the first government-appointed official for the Northwest Territories. His uncle was the mayor of nearby Fort MacLeod for many years. Charlie was still very young when his mother passed away. 144 [736]

[p.343-A]

54: Lancaster F-3(1958-1966)1966 NF6 Blackfoot NF6
Piegan
Montana

Jim says that some of the Tribal Council members have been pretty square and have sincerely attempted to benefit the Tribe as a whole, but that a great many of the members have been no better than the law allows. The Chief is definitely unhappy with the Wheeler-Howard Act (The Indian Reorganization Act), and from what I have been able to learn, even old Senator Wheeler, who was in large part responsible for the introduction of the Act, is not exactly overjoyed with the results of this piece of legislation. The Chief states flatly that the Tribal Council since its very inception has peculated like poultry on a worm ranch, and although the Chief's claims against the Council are admittedly eristical they are certainly not totally lacking in substance. The Chief described in detail some of the more questionable episodes of the Council's reign, and some of them, including a reputed sojourn in Mexico by Council members at tribal expense, would definitely bear looking into. The Council meets tomorrow, and I am going to attend the meeting.

643 622 657 622 643 [661]

When the Chief had properly barbecued the Wheeler-Howard Act and the Tribal Council, he launched into a tirade against the treaties which the Federal Government has made with (perpetrated against) the Blackfoot Nation. The Chief's formal education was limited to a short period of attendance at the Fort Shaw Indian School (at which time he was already a grown man), and Jim went only as far as the fourth grade, but Jim reads omniverously and both he and the Chief are remarkably well informed on Blackfoot history and on the current political situation involving the American Indian. The Chief has very definite ideas about how the Indian's position could be better through various legislative acts and abrogations on the part of the Federal Government, and the old fellow does not confine his protests to monological grumbling; he directs a torrent of correspondence to both his United States Senator and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs.

622 657 648 [871]

The early treaties between the Plains Indian Tribes and the United States Government were, of course, not designed to benefit the Indian but to protect the White migrants and settlers who had begun to invade Plains Indian territory. The White Man was encroaching upon Indian land and the Indian was doing his damnedest to prevent it, but the probability is that most of the Whites killed by Plains Indians prior to the Civil War period had simply happened into the path of a war party which was out to war upon an enemy tribe.

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The first White Man's treaty to effect the Blackfoots was the Treaty of Fort Laramie. Acting upon the naive assumption that the

175 648

657 Branch." The general purpose of this administration has been to make the Blood Indian self-sufficient in the modern world. 433 To this end the initial effort was to make small farmers or 654 cattle herders out of the buffalo-hunting Blood.[29] These efforts at small-scale agriculture and husbandry were largely unsuccessful with only 304 acres under cultivation by 1894.[30] ● 871 The Government also authorized construction of Indian schools during this period, one of which, the Dunbow School, was built south of Calgary. The first principal of this school was the famous "black-robed voyager," Father Lacombe.[31] This program met with as little Indian acceptance as did the farm program. As Katherine Hughes reports:

> The main difficulty was that these boys were too old to be broken to school ways, but they were the only boys available. All winter they continued to be as wild as young elk. Sometimes they would turn the playground into a battlefield; more often they would slip away to a big hill a mile distant and play there well away from the shadow of the school. Occasionally the teacher on ringing the bell for his charges would not find one in sight. In an instant, or so it seemed, they had hidden themselves about the yard, ready to lope off to the prairie if the teacher would not come out to round them up. During the winter some of the boys ran home. When the spring came they all clamoured to be free.[32]

433 654 In 1894 the Indian Affairs Branch made another attempt to introduce cattle herding to the Blood, this time by accepting horses in exchange for cattle.[33] Cattle continued to be the major industry until 1910. At this time the Government again started a program of farming with some success

until the bad winter of 1919-1920 which annihilated the cattle herds and set the farmers back considerably.[34] These natural catastrophies together with the world-wide depression of the 1920's had the effect of closing out the smaller entrepreneurs and concentrating the bulk of Reserve land in the hands of a few large farmers. Also, in this era some of the bands, which had been the residential, economic, and political units of the aboriginal Blood, were dismembered by the relocation of those bands residing on the "North End" of the Reserve into the communities of those residing on the "West End."[35] The land freed from occupation in this fashion was then leased to whites for cultivation. The result of these alterations was to diversify the socio-political organization of the Reserve, and to add a new source of income for the populace.

Many of these trends continue today. Leasing is common. Indeed, less than ten per cent of the adult household heads farm.[36] The major sources of income are from tribal or individual lease monies and from the gathering of prairie hay. Early trends in education have continued, but within the last ten years the Indian Affairs Branch has made an effort to integrate the Indian student with the white student in the non-Reserve schools. Also, status competition has remained strong. In the recent past (1939) Esther Goldfrank notes: